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WHITHER ISRAEL

GOLDSCHMIDT



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# WHITHER ISRAEL?

*Foreword by*

ALBERT EINSTEIN

"This little book deserves the attention and interest of all those who are still ready to listen to the voice of reason"—*Albert Einstein*

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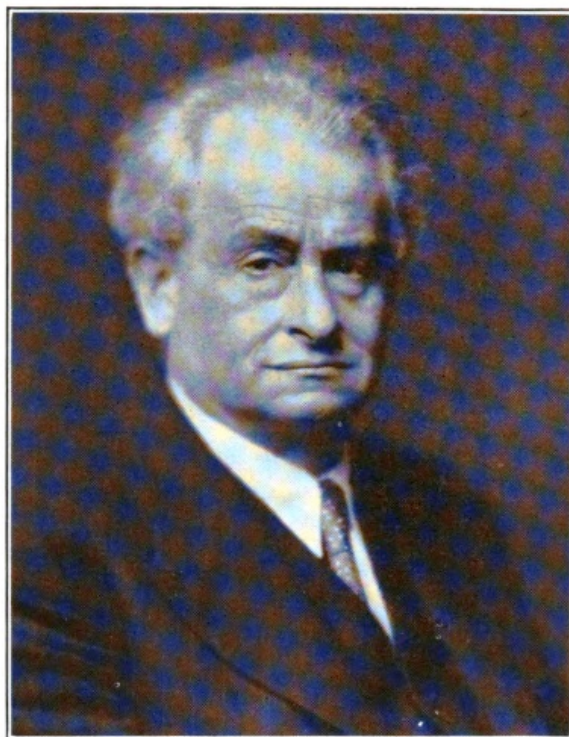


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DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

*Professor of Political Economy*

DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT was born in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, on November 28th, 1879. He studied at the universities of Muenchen, Berlin, Kiel and Freiburg im Breisgau. He got his doctor's degree for his thesis entitled "Leo Tolstoy's Social Problem." Thereafter he was active as editor of the Economic Section of the Berliner Tageblatt, and as editor-in-chief of the Department of Economics of the Ullstein Publishing House in Berlin. He was also a contributor to a number of German and other publications, and likewise acted as publisher of *Economic and Financial Bulletins*.

From 1915 to 1922, Dr. Goldschmidt was a lecturer at the Institute for Journalism in the University of Leipzig, and in this work was closely affiliated with Professor Carl Buecher. From 1922 to 1925 Dr. Goldschmidt taught Political Economy at the



University of Cordoba in the Argentine and at the National University of Mexico in Mexico City.

In 1929 Dr. Goldschmidt founded in Berlin the Economic Institute for Latin America. This Institute began to function in Berlin in 1929 and was well on its way to scientific progress when the advent of the Hitler Regime caused its complete suspension.

After his first book on "Leo Tolstoy's Social Problem," Dr. Goldschmidt wrote a number of other books and treatises dealing with Russian economic problems. His teaching and research activities in Latin America resulted in a series of books treating of Mexico, the Argentine and the political and social problems of the whole of Latin America.

Dr. Goldschmidt is the author of the following books:

Germany Today.

Leo Tolstoy's Social Problem.

The Argentine.

Mexico.

On the Trail of the Aztecs.

The Development of the Mexican Peasantry.

The Third Conquest of America.

Bases of Economic Science (In Spanish).

The Economic Organization of Soviet Russia.

He also wrote several essays on Accountancy, Trusts and Socialization.

His book entitled "Half the World," which is his autobiography, is, in effect, a cross-section of the countries visited and studied by him. This book deals especially with the development of Germany in the last fifty years right up to the present Nazi dictatorship.



## *Foreword*

THIS little book by a Jew who has put his whole life as a scientist at the service of social justice deserves the attention and interest of all those who are still ready to listen to the voice of reason in spite of all the wild outcry of political passions today.

In years of study Professor Goldschmidt has logically and historically with rare devotion and objectivity investigated the social and economic problem of humanity. His sympathy with the sufferings of the distressed majority has not affected this objectivity in the field of social and economic problems. His attitude towards the Jewish problems is just as objective and restrained, weighing the facts in the light of carefully examined points of view.

The author sees no remedy for the periodic recurrence of these persecutions and hostility, which are not due to the attitude of the Jews themselves, but to economic and political conditions. Himself a fighter for a better future for humanity, he believes the right attitude to be the self-sacrificing participation of the Jews in this fight alongside all those striving for justice and progress.

ALBERT EINSTEIN.





## WHY THIS PAMPHLET WAS WRITTEN

WHEN the persecution of the Jews began in Germany with Hitler's accession to the Chancellorship of the Reich, the Jews of the world once again found themselves face to face with their old problem. Whither, where is salvation? Should we fight? How should we fight? These questions—fierce, fearful and cruel—arose before the Jews, as they have arisen time and again for two thousand years. At first a tremendous, unified move for defense seemed to spring up in all Jewry. The cause of the trampled and oppressed, of those expelled from the German people as a foreign body, the cause of the trembling Ahasuerus within Germany and beyond its borders was supported by the liberal-minded of the world. A humanitarian wave, an uprising of humanity, indignant and militant horror seized those persons who were not prepared to allow the equality of all men before the law—this achievement guaranteed by law and in the Constitution—to be swept away.

It had been thought that millions repeated the words of Herder, Lessing, and the militant Luther, who, like world trumpets, had demanded an age of humanity, whose big hearts and stentorian voices had fought against the frightfully bloody mysticism of the Middle Ages, against race insanity, and against the misleading of gullible humans by irresponsible and unfeeling politicians of egotism. Those who felt that the age of technology was a period of accelerated and refined brutalities were considered skeptics worthy of nothing but ridicule. These skeptics warned against exaggerating the humane effects of a technological world, which in reality was only a modern and terrifying means of destroying all that still remained of the community of man. They did not consider a solution of the Jewish problem possible on the basis of a merely platonic humanitarianism or a merely fictitious democracy, and they met with ridicule when they doubted the existence of true solidarity against the medieval monster. They were laughed at when they pointed to the almost automatic recurrence of persecution, to the millions slain, to the forced migrations of masses of Jews, and to the persistence of that mysticism of the blood down to our time, with the great cham-

pions of humanitarianism unable to accomplish anything really positive against it. They met with scorn when they indicated the inner consistency of a trend of development which they considered to be stronger than wishes or longings and which mercilessly tramples underfoot those unable to recognize and evaluate the signs of the future and the warnings of the past.

The hope existed, and still exists, of subduing through morality and ethics a force which must fight for its interests if it is to avoid its own destruction. He who depends upon sentiment rather than reality in this world of naked or hypocritically veiled antagonisms is lost, unless he is fortunate enough to live in a brief period of respite or of preparations for new explosions of persecution and murder.

The persecution of the Jews in Germany today is only *one manifestation* of the wild struggle for power, a signal of coming gigantic conflagrations the glow of which is already visible on the horizon. In recording and analyzing in this little monograph the history of the martyrdom of the Jews, and particularly the present martyrdom of the German Jews, we desire to point out the hopeless situation confronting the Jews if they tie up their lot with the past instead of with the future.



## THE SAME PHRASES FOR SEVENTEEN HUNDRED YEARS

AFTER examining the anti-Semitic theories and statements advanced ever since the time of Constantine the Great, one is forced to the conclusion that the anti-Semitic theorists and agitators have not discovered anything new against the Jews from the beginning of the fourth century A. D. down to the present day, except for some slogans adapted to changed circumstances. At times the agitation is predominantly based upon religious or ecclesiastical arguments; at other times racial and economic charges prevail. But at bottom they are always the same nebulous assertions. Out of all this confusion the simple fact that economic and social despair has time and again been deflected and directed against the Jews is clearly apparent to the unbiased reader. For the desperate masses, though, this confusion was made the pivotal point. It darkens their insight unless they have learned to perceive the causes of their own social development in this development itself—the simple economic fact that is the basic formula for the solution of all anti-Semitism.

For it need not be proved that the Jews were not magicians. Nor were they ever allied with the Devil, since the Devil did not and does not exist, nor has anyone ever seen him in the company of a Jew in the course of some 1700 years. No economist or serious business man is ready to assert that the Jews have been or still are specialized, crafty usurers, for usury is also found among the others, the non-Jews. It is just as wholly ridiculous and unfounded to assert that the Jews poisoned wells to establish their rule over hundreds of millions of people—one must have a completely clouded mind to believe all that. Nor is it thinkable that they desecrated the Eucharist to obtain blood. Today, in the age of advanced natural science, there is no possibility of such experiments. Only fanatical swindlers can bring forward and swear to such a charge. Nor is it true that Jews stink; at any rate they do not smell any worse than other humans. The nose question is a problem all its own; what is eau de cologne to one is stinkweed to another.

Nor can it be proved that the Jews alone have bow-legs, crooked noses, curly hair, olive-skinned cheeks, flat feet, round skulls, or degenerate foreheads and jaws. A traveler through Germany, for example, finds all shapes of skull and body among the non-Jews as well: the stout and thin, long-legged and stocky, flat-nosed and aquiline, curly and straight-haired, men and women with wide and narrow hips, with thick and elegant ankles, the hairy and those without much hair.

As for the notorious Jewish cunning, the especially sly Jewish intelligence, a serious scientist would find it hard to state exactly what the differences in intellectual makeup and their effects consist of. Jews have been and are active in all fields of human life: business and culture, actual labor and management, and they have everywhere done poorly, ordinarily or well. They have built splendid temples, magnificent modern skyscrapers, as well as miserable huts and speculative real estate developments. They have created and reproduced music, literature and paintings, and I should like to have anyone prove that a passage by Richard Wagner is more noble, more creative, a better work of genius than a work by Mendelssohn, which millions of non-Jews enjoy as devotedly as, for instance, an aria from *Parsifal* or a melodic joke by Wagner's Beckmesser. No one can prove that Goethe's "*Heideröschchen*" is sweeter, more lyrical or has more of a folk song quality than Heinrich Heine's *Lorelei*. You may say, "I like the verses of *Heideröschchen* better, because I think they are sweeter, more lyrical and closer to the people, more German," but that is your own personal opinion and no criterion at all.

No investigator of the composition of human blood has ever told us that the blood of Jews has more white or red corpuscles than that of non-Jews. No difference can be detected in the color of the blood, nor in the rapidity of its circulation through the arteries or through the brain in particular. No spinal puncture in Jewish and Gentile bodies has ever yielded any result indicating a difference in the brain's chemical or other composition. Eyesight is no weaker or stronger in normal Jews than in normal non-Jews. Only he who is able to make an exact determination of the nature and degree of sex desire can maintain that the Jew

is more passionate than the non-Jew. What is more, Jewish males beget children in the same manner as male non-Jews. Here is a horrible sentence from Adolf Hitler's book, *My Battle*:

"For hours the black-haired Jewish youngster, satanic joy suffusing his face, lies in wait for the unsuspecting maiden, whom he violates with his blood, thus raping her away from her people."

The language of this sentence is no better than the credibility of this statement. But this picture affects the jealousy instinct of the persons to be won over to the Hitler movement, especially the young; it is out of question on which side poison and satanic joy are. This picture is a generalization, of course, and if you so desire, you can imagine a million young Jews waiting with delivish lust at the corners of ten thousand cities, wild with the desire to corrupt the blood of the peoples in question.

Not a page of Hitler's book offers a single proof of this thesis of his, which he did not invent, but which he trumpeted to the masses with unexampled ruthlessness and disregard of the truth. No effort to prove it is made, no endeavor at proof can be made, for any such endeavor would weaken the demagogic force of these inciting phrases. In these pages the Jew does about everything evil that any man can accomplish; he even works against himself in order to attain power through his own destruction. He proclaims the revolution and is the cause of capitalism; he violates language against his own race; he monopolizes profiteering and usury, so that no one else deals in money or trade, according to Hitler. The Jew alone dominates the press and lies with this modern instrument of deception, while the Nazis' German press prints nothing but the purest truth. He lies in wait, so to speak, for social evolution; he adapts himself to the prevailing social conditions; he is assimilated; he immediately takes on every social form to bring the so-called "host peoples" in his power. True enough, he never succeeded in doing this; the so-called "host peoples" have always placed him under their rule, but how was and is the social problem to be solved if the stupid masses are not to be stirred up against such devils? According to Hitler the



Jew is both crazy and rational; he incessantly sacrifices his own people; he is weak and warlike, petty though a genius; mean as well as gigantically great, monarchist-democratic, proletarian-revolutionary, idealistic and materialistic; he is the common denominator of all human characteristics. And over this own brew of his he himself stands, stirring this stew of characteristics into the most effective poison against humanity. It should be noted that Hitler's most vicious anti-Semitic outpourings have been carefully expurgated from the American edition of his programmatic *My Battle*.

In fact, if the Hitlerite theories are thought out to their logical conclusion, the Jew is really the ideal miracle, a combination of Faust and Mephistopheles, and it might be proved that the unsuspecting Hitler is thus a Marxist dialectician. At any rate, Hitler seems to be equipped with X-ray eyes. He alone detected the Jew, who—Hitler says—has concealed his inherent nature for thousands of years, in order to jump at the throat of the billion-fold beast, man, at the proper instant. Such tremendous patience is worthy of admiration. To wait for thousands of years, to lie in wait, looking for opportunities, in order finally to achieve victory requires such an enormous amount of self-sacrifice on the part of countless generations, such faith in a Messianic goal, that Herr Hitler really ought to acknowledge this historical self-restraint. Instead he vouchsafed the Jews in Germany nothing but a pogrom.

Everything the Jew suffered and did, he suffered and did—according to Hitler—with the goal of world dominion in view. Towards this goal he even crept forth out of the Ghetto, after having built the Ghetto himself in cunning fashion, as a sort of observation post to check up on political and social developments. He was not interested in living elsewhere, nor in not being locked up after sundown, or in breathing freely. He wanted civil emancipation solely in order to establish his own dictatorship. According to these deductions the German Jews themselves invented Hitler; they themselves poured the idea and the methods of the pogrom into him and his paladins, in order to erect the Jewish dictatorship through him, for they are unable to do or suffer any-

thing without aiming at world domination. This is the only explanation of their path of sorrow, of their martyrdom ever since the destruction of the first Temple, if Hitlerite logic is to be followed.

### THE PATH THROUGH THE POGROM

WE DO not know just when the Jews first came to Germany. We do know however, that they were not allowed to live there in peace long after their immigration. The Hitlers of that time were bishops and princes, whereas the German heathens remained fairly tolerant towards the Jews. The heathen Franks were friendly towards them. Under the Franks Jews were peasants, artisans, tradesmen, as well as judges, tax collectors, physicians and warriors. Intermarriage was not prohibited; this prohibition originated only with the ecclesiastical struggles in the Holy Roman Empire. The Merovingian Chilperich of Soissons issued a number of ordinances against the Jews, which could have served as example for the present Hitlerite decrees. No Jew was allowed to hold military or administrative posts under Christians. The situation of the assimilation of Jews and Germans, mentioned by Heinrich Heine in his *Shakespeare's Mädchen und Frauen*, did not last very long in legal practice, if it ever existed at all. The Jews were always happy to find a tolerant ruler. According to Hitler they always sneaked into a position of tolerance in order to misuse it. Heine may be just as right as Hitler claims to be, when he says in *Shakespeare's Mädchen und Frauen*:

"The Jews are a chaste, temperate, I might almost say an abstract people. In purity of morals they stand closest to the Germanic tribes. The intimate affinity between the two peoples of morality, the Jews and the Germans, is striking indeed. This affinity did not arise historically because the great family chronicle of the Jews, the Bible, served to educate the whole Germanic world, or because the Jews and the Germans were from the beginning irreconcilable enemies of the Romans, and hence natural allies. It has a deeper basis; in their origins both peoples were so alike that ancient

Palestine could be taken for an Oriental Germany, just as the Germany of today may be considered the homeland of the Holy Scriptures, the motherland of the prophets, the citadel of pure spirituality."

Well, if the Jews and the Germans ever possessed such similarities, the Germans have scarcely behaved like kinsmen in the course of history. There was no trace of fraternity, which should have been the result of such a relationship. The most that could be observed was a sort of tolerance for very practical reasons, since the Jews were often fruitful objects for taxation and useful agents in the business dealings of the Germanic rulers. This explains the comparatively favorable situation of the Jews under some of the Frankish kings, notably under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. But it is a mistake to think that this tolerance was absolute or without exception. Even these rulers issued brutal decrees against the Jews. From the very beginning of Jewish life in Germany the social and political status of the Jews always depended upon economic conditions. Whenever these conditions grew critical, tolerance vanished. And the more complicated and uncertain the economic situation in Germany became, the more clearly did this fact stand out.

Charlemagne endeavoured to solve the difficulties of his state treasury with the aid of the Jews. He even brought Jews to Germany from Italy and other countries, appointing them to administrative posts or employing them for other economic purposes. But this was a concession motivated by purely practical reasons, and had nothing at all to do with tolerance. Relatively brief periods of peace were succeeded time and again by periods of oppression and persecution. "Baptism or emigration," foreigners' status for Jews, exceptional taxation, degradation to serfdom, and the like were the Jews' common lot.

The first great wave of anti-Semitic hatred arose during the Crusades, *i.e.* during a period of pronounced economic crisis. The Crusades were commercial undertakings to the Orient, when we remove their wrappings of fanatical religious ideology. They represented an effort to reduce huge debts and administrative expenses by means of profitable commercial contacts. The Jews



had been excluded from the guilds, corporations and merchants' companies, and reduced to dealing in second-hand goods, and to usury, *i.e.* lending money at interest. Usury was originally protected by special legislation and was considered by no means dishonest. With the development of cities and the growing financial burden on land owners financial transactions became a necessity. Interest grew organically out of this trend of development; it was merely its monetary expression. But as rigid artisan policies in the cities, coupled with systematic and frightful exploitation of the peasants' resources, necessitated the borrowing of money more and more (with the Jews satisfying this need to a great extent), this same compulsion led to over-indebtedness and hence to the desire for relief from the burden of interest. The hatred for interest turned against the Jews, who had formerly been compelled, as it were, to accept interest, and the upper classes made this hatred—with deliberate demagoguery—a matter of religious belief. They preached vengeance upon the Jews for the blood of Christ. Thousands were driven into the Crusades in this manner, and at the same time turned against the Jews, while the Christian merchants sought to monopolize trade with the Orient by excluding the Jews. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the organizer of the Second Crusade, proclaimed: "If not for the Jews the Christian usurers would take even greater toll."

In 1241 one hundred and eighty Jews were burned to death in Frankfurt-am-Main. Fifty-seven years later about 100,000 were killed in Franconia alone. Over and over again the same accusations spread like a plague throughout the land: "The Jews slaughtered innocent Christian children for their Passover feast, they obstructed baptism, they desecrated the Host, they poisoned wells," and so forth.

Horrible persecutions of the Jews occurred during the early fourteenth century in Germany, particularly in 1348-1349, when the "Black Death", the bubonic plague, raged throughout Europe. The plague was blamed upon the Jews. Almost all the Jews in Nürnberg were slaughtered. A century later the Jews were driven out of Augsburg, but it should not be thought that the intervening hundred years were years of peace for the Jews.

The head tax, the yellow badge of shame, cameralist servitude, and the outright sale of Jewish communities, especially in Southern Germany—all these afflictions cry out from the pages of a thousand documents and manuscripts. Even so-called enlightened rulers, such as Emperor Frederick II., the Hohenstaufen, made use of the Jewish problem as a political weapon, and were always ready to issue decrees against the Jews if it paid them financially and politically to do so. Frederick II., for example, established the first Ghetto in Palermo. This was done by the same emperor who—after the execution of 34 Fulda Jews for so-called ritual murder—had the problem examined by a commission of savants, who reported that “neither in the Old nor in the New Testament have we found any proof that the Jews thirst for human blood. On the contrary, both Genesis and the Talmud require that Jews refrain from partaking of blood.”

Caught in the cross-fire of the conflicting interests of the Pope and the secular rulers, the Jews were exposed to the rigors of economic-religious conflicts without any real protection, with the sole hope that some mighty ruler or powerful Pope would protect them out of egotistic motives. But this protection never became general; it had only a regional effect, depending upon conditions in the area in question. When the debt burden again became acute in the middle of the fifteenth century, secular and ecclesiastical rulers joined in fanning agitation against the Jews in Silesia and Bohemia with the expressed intention of getting rid of them. In 1433 the Franciscan monk John of Capistrano preached against the Silesian Jews, accusing them of desecrating the Host. This agitation led to torture and executions, as well as the burning of promissory notes. During the 1550's the Emperor gave away as gifts the houses and synagogues of the murdered. The Brunn synagogue was turned over to the city's butchers as a slaughterhouse. Maximilian I., the son of Frederick III., decreed in 1498 that the Jews of Nürnberg must immediately turn over their houses, synagogues and other real property to the imperial representative in Nürnberg without protest. This marked the end of the Jews in Nürnberg. Only in 1845 did a Jew, Joseph Cohn, obtain permission to reside in Nürnberg for one year; this license was later converted into a concession for permanent settlement.

During this whole period, that is, the Jew was less than a serf, for the serfs were entitled to dwell on the land according to medieval law and custom. One medieval Hitler after another drove out the Jews. In 1519 the Jews had to leave Ratisbon on five days' notice. It was a kind of repetition on a smaller scale of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain effected by Torquemada, the stoker of the Spanish Inquisition.

Records of the Jews in the Middle Ages contain numerous reports of anti-Jewish movements among the German artisans, motivated by exactly the same reasons as explain the anti-Semitism of the middle class in Germany today. Mention might be made of the uprising in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1612 under the leadership of the artisans Vinzentz Fettmilch, Konrad Gernegross, and Konrad Schopp. This uprising was accompanied by pillage, the destruction of promissory notes, atrocities, judicial murders, and so forth. Herr Fettmilch was rewarded with rich gifts, as Herr Goering is being rewarded today. Such profitable fishing expeditions did not remain localized, of course; fanaticism and greed continued to spread. A thousand proofs can be adduced for our thesis: that naked economic privation always stares forth out of all anti-Semitic-ideological agitation. We are far from making vulgar moral indictments, *i.e.*, turning every Jew into an idealized martyr and looking upon every anti-Semite as a scoundrel. All that we ask is that economic reasons and conditions must not be masked with transparent ethical ornamentation and the like. We must point out what lies behind all this, that is, the problem must be analyzed in its elementary simplicity; otherwise no positive conclusions and decisions can be reached.

And there have been those during these 1700 or 2000 years, among them not the worst of men, who realized this clearly and stated it unequivocally. In the sixteenth century Andreas Osiander, in his examination of the causes for the persecution of the Jews (in his *Das Judenbüchlein*) reached the following conclusions:

“Persecution of the Jews ensues:

1. When a prince is avaricious, despotic and impatient.
2. When his counsellors and officials resemble him.

3. When monks or the clergy long for new pilgrimages, to give the impression of greater sanctity.

4. When a ruler's subjects owe the Jews enormous sums of money.

5. When superstitious people, treasure hunters, the exorcisers of ghosts, and the like, kill children to feed their superstitious beliefs.

6. When murder has been committed by other persons or caused by neglect, but the Jews are blamed."

Osiander was by no means a protector of the Jews—he proved that in other passages of his book—but the accusatory statements of his cited above go right to the heart of the matter.

Stöcker, the so-called court chaplain (whom we shall consider later), was not the first to misuse the Church against the Jews. All through the Middle Ages there were chaplains in ordinary thundering "Apage Satanas!" but who really meant the rulers' pockets or their own fat bellies. One of these was the notorious Martin Butzer, chaplain in ordinary to Philipp of Hesse. There also were the bloody-romantic poets, of course, who versified hatred of the Jews in tales of profanation, rape and the like, somewhat more coarsely than the later Romantic, Brentano, but with an equally brutal mysticism. One of these was Heinrich Bebel, whom Maximilian I. had appointed poet laureate and who thundered in verse against Jewish usury. A straight line leads from these stanzas to the Nazis' Teutonic chant of emancipation: "Wenn's Judenblut vom Messer spritzt, erst dann sind wir befreit." So-called intellectual progress: the age of enlightenment, idealist philosophy, the steam engine, electricity, rationalization of industry, the gold standard, refined banking technique, radio and the airplane have not changed this in the slightest. Barbarism has merely been made more technological; it now proceeds at a faster tempo. The fact that today it is spread with the aid of newspapers, press agencies, parliaments, tolerated mass demonstrations, and other modern techniques has by no means modified or softened the nature of this barbarism. The sole difference between the Poet Laureate Heinrich Bebel and the Nazi



Poet Laureate Horst Wessel is that Heinrich Bebel wrote better verse.

In view of the present persecutions of the Jews in Germany it would be of advantage to write the history of usury, of the theft of property, of real peasant oppression, of extortion, murder, death at the stake, and other judicial crimes committed for wholly realistic motives of economic aggrandizement. It really would not be difficult to prove that brutal speculation in evil mass instincts, credulity and sadism against minorities is a phenomenon attending the economic crisis, and can only be explained in fact on that basis. Nor would it be hard to prove that the Jews were not the cause of the excessive debt burden upon land, of economic difficulties in the cities, or of the economic conflicts between the emperors and the territorial princes and knights, but were merely the agents in this course of development, tolerated and utilized creatures of speculation, who were truly not given the richest prizes. Aside from a few Jewish speculative favorites, whom rulers employed to acquire crowns, subjects, countries and other property, and especially to get rid of their debts or to incur new ones, the Jew—throughout the entire German Middle Ages, for some 1000 years—was an inferior being, bound by a special head tax, and under the stigma of the yellow badge of the Jews. The non-Jewish heroes of German history did not, on the whole, distinguish themselves by frugality, and even in the *Nibelungenlied* or the Gudrun Saga we find not only spotless saints, but real human beings with a lust for property aimed at primeval accumulation.

Here is what Ricarda Huch, who can scarcely be said not to know German history, says of Wallenstein:

“He was extremely greedy and avaricious. Passionately eager to get money, he spent it very reluctantly, and then only when he was certain of gaining still more thereby. He possessed a congenital gift for financial transactions and did not shrink from revolting methods to acquire funds. In 1622-23, for instance, he pocketed huge profits from debasing the currency. Together with other gentlemen belonging to the upper nobility he founded a company which coined money

under its true value to improve the state of the imperial finances. But the major share of the profits was retained by the company, the aristocratic partners getting the lion's share, while the German and Jewish managers received a small percentage. Wallenstein was far from being ashamed of such profits; in fact, he was contemptuous of those who wanted to play a major role in affairs without having adequate funds. He evidently felt that money was coming to him, was due to him, and without enormous wealth he actually could not have constructed the image of his greatness, which he had set as his goal."

In view of the fact that work in general was disgraceful to the princes and nobles of that age, and with the nobles prostrating themselves before their rulers to obtain court honors, fiefs, tax rights, profitable jurisdictions, and the like to avoid the necessity for doing actual work, the statement that the Jews had a monopoly of rascally speculation and usury as early as the Middle Ages is simply absurd. How could the Jews, who were not the lords of the land and the peasantry, who were not at the head of the urban guilds, who had no arms, and thus possessed only a negligibly small portion of the country's wealth and the national income, be anything more than tiny bedbugs in the huge body of the German nation? If poisonous hatred against them had not been instilled into millions of peasants and townsmen, neither the oppressed peasants nor the journeymen artisans, who could not hope ever to achieve the rank of master, would have let themselves be incited to bloody persecutions of the Jews. Anti-Semitism did not originate at the bottom, no more than productive labor is to blame for its own destruction. In an age when all the materials are available for rational historiography and historical research the time has come to clear away all this brutal yet ridiculous trash.

When matters have reached the point where the Jews again have to serve as the scapegoats because there seems to be no way of stilling the masses' hunger, the anti-Semitic leaders pick out of the works of the great German authors every passage in which these writers, on any occasion, wrote anything against the Jews. They do so although—like Herr Hitler—they despise the written

word, and, since they themselves cannot write, they consider the ecstatic cataract of their demagogic speeches to manifest greater genius than, for instance, the Bible, the profound works of Herder, or similar writings of tremendous, undeniable influence upon the evolution of humanity. That is what they have done, for instance, with Luther, whom they proclaimed as the spiritual father of German anti-Semitism, as it were, on the occasion of their recent Teutonic celebration of the Reformation. But the same Luther, who wrote both for and against the Jews, it is true, as his ecclesiastical policies required from time to time, wrote the following in 1523 in a pamphlet *Jesus was born a Jew*:

“Our fools, the Papists, bishops, sophists and monks, have treated the Jews in such a manner that a good Christian would have wanted to become a Jew. Now, if I had been a Jew and had seen such louts and bullies rule over Christian faith, I would rather have become a sow than a Christian. For they treated the Jews as if the latter were dogs and not men; they have been able to do nothing but defame them. They are blood-relatives, cousins and brothers of Our Lord. Therefore, if one is to boast of one’s flesh and blood, the Jews belong to Christ more than we do. Hence I ask my dear Papists to revile me as a Jew, when they get tired of calling me a heretic. I recommend therefore, that the Jews be treated decently. But since we drive them from us by force and accuse them, telling them they ought to have Christian blood in order not to stink, and God knows what other foolish trash, and since we forbid them to work among us or to have other human companionship, thus driving them to usury, how should they come to us? If we want to help them, we should apply not the Pope’s but the emperor’s laws to them and take care of them, we must let them work and grow, so that they may have room and reason to be with us and about us.”

This rage of Luther’s is understandable when we realize his attitude at the time towards the peasant problem. At that time he needed the peasants and therefore had to avoid saying anything that might lead the exploited serfs against any other objective

than the Church of Rome. This very fact proves how the Jewish problem has been used and abused, according to the requirements of the general political situation. The Hitlerites, however, ignore these facts without batting an eyelash, and when they have no other way out, they label Wallenstein and Luther as servants of the Jews or of Jewish descent, as they later did with Bismarck. After the Reformation had won out and Luther had gotten the aid of the German rulers to take the place of the peasantry, his friendship for the Jews changed. Then he would have liked to see all Jews annihilated.

The expulsion of the Jews from England, Spain and France was due to the same cause, although it occurred under different circumstances. The Jews were persecuted and expelled because they had taken over economic functions, particularly trade functions, which the saturated and already declining feudal system could not assume and which hence were a menace to it. At the dawn of a new social order in Europe the Jews were interlopers. They had not created the old order, and their work in paving the way for the new order was the natural result of their economic status in the various countries, which they could not establish themselves, but within which they had to work. It would be absurd to endeavor to estimate the degree of their activity or of their compulsory participation in this trend of development. They were active and part of this evolution because there it was and continued to evolve, and not because of their presence! If Europe's social structure had been different, the Jews would not have had to carry on barter, usury, or transit trade with the Mediterranean countries, for then the world's economy would have had no need for this rising and rapidly growing money economy. It is hare-brained to blame the agents of a trend of evolution, which proceeds with elemental force as it were, for this evolution. The Jews did not emigrate from Palestine with a sadistic lust for money and commercial profit. They began to emigrate, owing to the growing agrarian crisis in Palestine, long before the destruction of the second Temple. They would most likely have been completely destroyed if they had remained. Are they to be held responsible for their interest in their own lives? They never disputed the non-Jews' right to protect such interests.



In any event they were burned to death, pauperized, and deported time and again, whenever the bitter reality of the crisis transformed paradise on earth into a veritable Hell in front of men's very eyes. Michelet, the French historian, rightly says: "Whenever the human mind in the Middle Ages began to inquire why the ideal paradise on earth was always realized only in the shape of a Hell, the answer was: 'It is the wrath of God! It is the crime of the Jews!' . . . Then the people threw themselves upon the Jews." As one of the greatest sociologists put it, the Jews did not maintain themselves in spite of history, but through history. The course of evolution itself gave them the strength to nourish themselves upon it, despite the most frightful persecutions and extermination.

#### EQUALITY OF RIGHTS—BUT NOT THE SAME RIGHTS

It is obvious that the commercial and financial functions assigned to the Jews had to burst the Jews' medieval shackles with the coming of a new epoch of social and economic development which generalized these functions. This happened most decisively in France in the Revolution of 1789. The French Jews were granted all civil rights by the decree of September 28, 1791. The Jews themselves had played an active part in the struggle for emancipation from the oppressive regime of feudal France. They did not look on from the Ghetto with the intention of making themselves the rulers of France immediately after the revolution had triumphed. Callier Gerville, the State Prosecutor, said on January 30, 1790:

"No class of citizens displayed greater zeal in the conquest of freedom than the Jews; no one thirsted like they for the uniform of the National Guard. The Jews living in Paris have not been raised to the rank of Frenchmen as yet, but we can assure them that they are quite worthy of this name. I even dare say that they already count among us as Frenchmen \* \* \*."

The Jews staked their lives for their own emancipation, which was organically bound up with the overthrow of reaction. On a

*lower plane, it was the same situation in which the Jews find themselves today, the same problem: whether they are ready to defend their freedom or to achieve it again in battle against the general tide of reaction, the most brutal expression of which up to the present time is Hitlerism. Again the Jews stand at the crossroads of a new world order.*

Fifteen years before the French decree giving the Jews civil rights, in 1776, the United States of America in the Declaration of Independence had proclaimed the equality before the law of all creeds recognizing the existence of a God. In 1790 Washington wrote to the Jewish community of Newport that freedom of conscience and the inviolability of civil rights were a matter of course in the United States. The only prerequisite for this independence was that every citizen of the United States behave as a good citizen. Then he might be certain of the active support of the government.

The new Kingdom of Italy also acknowledged the equal civil status of the Jews, while Germany and Austria-Hungary delayed the abolition of Jewish civil disabilities for a considerable time. This delay was an expression of the backwardness of both these countries. Germany was unable to achieve real unity; the Reich was hampered by extensive vestiges of feudalism, and the rights of Jews depended upon the laws of the several dynastic areas. The spirit of the medieval guilds still hovered over the German cities, and it was attended by the artisans' hatred of the Jews. The petty monopolists of an arrested economy did not want to surrender their privileges and opposed all the elements moving with the trend of modern economy. The Jews were driven out of Lübeck as late as 1819, and although the King of Prussia had to issue the famous decree "on the civil status of Jews in the Prussian State" in 1812 because political conditions compelled him to make this gesture, the Prussian Jews were far from being emancipated. The voices of Kant, Lessing and Herder in favor of the Jews had not reached the ear of the Prussian King. The decree was not the result of humanistic enlightenment, but of Prussian preparations for war against Napoleon. Enlightenment did not exist on the throne of Prussia.

Johann Gottfried Herder, in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, had stated that "Israel was and is the most distinguished people of the earth in its origin and in its continuance down to the present day, in its fortunes and misfortunes, in its defects and its excellences, in its baseness and sublimity. It is so singular and outstanding that I consider the history, the nature and the existence of this people to be the most certain proof of the miracles and writings that we know and have about it." In the *Adrastaea* Herder says: "All the laws treating the Jews worse than cattle, that do not trust him out of sight and dishonorably revile him daily, aye hourly, testify to the continuing barbarism of the state which tolerates such laws dating from barbarous times." Montesquieu said the same in his *Esprit des Lois*.

With the Revolution of 1848, i.e. with the beginning of the bourgeois age proper in Germany, the emancipation of the German Jews seemed to make progress. In 1847, on the eve of the bourgeois revolt, the draft of a decree "Concerning the status of the Jews" was introduced into the united diet. But this settled the struggle neither for the Prussian nor for the German Jews. Bismarck, when a young man, opposed the civil emancipation of the Jews. He declared: "I am not an enemy of the Jews, and if they are my enemies, I forgive them. In fact, I like them at times. I do not begrudge them any rights, except that of holding a governmental office in a Christian State." He emphasized that it was the purpose of the State to realize the Christian doctrine. "But I cannot believe that we can approach closer to this goal with the aid of the Jews." At that time Bismarck was an adherent of the interest usury theory, that is, the theory advanced against the Jews by the Hitler party today. But Bismarck dropped his anti-Semitism when he took over important governmental functions, largely influenced in this by his relationship with Bleichröder. Indeed, Bleichröder realized Bismarck's importance for a reorganization of Germany corresponding to modern economic conditions much earlier than the still medieval and artisan German middle class. When an endeavor was made to place the Jews again under the status of foreigners, Bismarck dismissed these reactionary efforts. He felt that the Jews were

indispensable to the process of unifying the Reich. He was bitterly attacked by the German anti-Semites for this passive attitude towards the Jews. A pamphlet entitled *The Anti-Semites and Bismarck* said: "Was he not from the very beginning the most powerful member in the Jewish protective troops? We owe Judaization to him and to him alone." As late as 1897 the German anti-Semites maintained that economic legislation under Bismarck had been inspired by the Jews. An anti-Semitic pamphlet *The Truth About Bismarck* called the Chancellor a scion of the Jews, the descendant of Jews and small shopkeepers. It declared that all his policies, the nationalization of the railways, the peace with Rome, and the alliance with the Conservatives had their sole origin in the dirtiest financial deals.

Now, in actuality Bismarck never was a semitophile, no more than Luther was. The Jews were for Bismarck as well merely instruments of policy. He employed anti-Jewish agitation against the Freemasons and the Social Democrats. In displaying himself as liberal in this regard he wanted to take the wind out of the sails of liberalism and socialism. His few pro-Jewish utterances have nothing in common with Herder's humanitarian sentences quoted above, nor with Goethe's transformation from an anti-Semite into a semitophile. In his later years Goethe admitted that his contempt for the Jews had really been a reflection of the Christian men and women surrounding him. After he had gotten to know many brilliant and sensitive Jews he was filled with admiration and wonder "for the people that created the Bible and for the poet who sang the Song of Songs." But although such expressions arose out of a newly won conviction, which remained unchanging in Goethe as far as we know, of what use was this humanitarianism, of what use all the enlightenment, political pro-Jewish egoism, the hundreds of speeches and demonstrations, books, pamphlets and newspaper articles to the German Jews? All that had happened was that their economic, rather than their social position had adapted itself to the trend of events.

This evolution by no means eliminated all the backwardness in economic life, and these outdated elements acted against emancipation. They were deeply rooted in the provincials; they were



its nurturing soil and its fortresses. The anti-Semitic forces were mobilized from the urban centers, especially from Berlin. From these centers the provinces were easily infected with anti-Semitism over and over again, and all the provincial elements in the capital joined the movement with the same hatred. In 1869 Bismarck, as Prime Minister, had demolished the last formal obstructions to the civil emancipation of the Jews. But that did not solve the Jewish problem, and it should not be thought that the German Jews actually had equal rights from 1869 until January 1933, that is, until Hitler took over the government. No matter how much they participated in the rapid spread of capitalism in Germany, no matter how intimately they were related and interwoven with all its manifestations, they never achieved—aside from some few exceptions—the ultimate bourgeois liberties, the freedom to attain real positions of power. They always remained in the garment of German society; they never nested deep in its muscles and in its brain.

If they had really become a part of the German nation so that one might have spoken of their fusion with it, anti-Semitism would never have been able to rise against them in such a brutal form. The very fact that they achieved no actual power, but remained a tolerated minority encouraged and reinforced anti-Semitism. The latter always turned against the Jews as one of the weakest points in society. Whenever the crisis seemed insurmountable they tried to incite the masses against the Jews, because the Jews had not been really assimilated with the German people. Hence it was easy to describe them as foreigners and dangerous elements. When the Jews were the instruments of progressive economic evolution, they appeared as enemies to those who resisted this trend.

Hatred against the Jews arose again during the Eighties, that is, at a time when the depression that followed the war prosperity of 1871-75 was still profoundly felt, especially in the middle class, and industry attempted to enlarge its market by means of rapid technological development and by crushing petty handicrafts. These were the years of agitation directed by Stöcker and Ahlwardt, the court chaplain and the schoolmaster as the social

rejuvenators of Germany, who in actuality were the representatives of the feudal caste and the middle class. Both Stöcker and Ahlwardt attacked Bismarck for the same reasons that they attacked the Jews. It was a campaign against the acceleration of capitalism in Germany, against Bismarck's endeavor to enlarge the domestic market through the unification of the Reich.

Hitler merely had to copy what Stöcker and Ahlwardt had shrieked in their meetings. Stöcker wanted to establish an international alliance against the Jews. He too saw race, religion, business and culture tainted with Jewish influence. "The influence of the Jews is based upon the unscrupulous acquisition and use of capital and upon enmity to the Christian social order. The Jews are pacemakers for capitalism and for revolutionary socialism at one and the same time, leading the State to destruction in both ways. Legislative measures must be enacted against the growth of Jewish trade to concentrate trade in the hands of Christians. The final victory over Jewry will only be achieved through the realization of the Christian and national spirit in all the fields of life." It is seen that the sole difference between Stöcker and Hitler lies in their effectiveness, and not in their intentions and theories. Likewise this is the only difference between Stöcker and Hitler on one hand and the anti-Jewish agitators at the time of the Crusades, who also demanded that trade be transferred to Christian hands. The tenor was always the same, however changed the social-economic, and hence the political conditions were.

The German anti-Semites under Stöcker and Ahlwardt demanded, of course, that the Jews be expelled from all chambers of commerce and other economic organizations. To what end was the campaign, if the pockets of the new Crusaders were not to be filled?

### FIGHTERS, HUMBUGS, WEAKLINGS

IN THE interim, however, a new power had arisen, which the Middle Ages had not known, nor had the age of mercantilism: the power of the modern working class. It had grown in spite

of all of Bismarck's attacks and persecutions, and since there seemed no other way of meeting its demands, the Jews were thrown to them.

One of the most energetic organizers and leaders of this movement, August Bebel, took up the fight against German anti-Semitism, especially against Stöcker and Ahlwardt. In a pamphlet *Anti-Semitismus und Sozialdemokratie* he coined the phrase which later became a household word: "Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools." He added: "The reactionaries and chauvinists drive the masses of German workers on against the few Jewish capitalists to distract the proletariat from the battle against capitalism as a whole. But this deception will not last very long. The worker incited against the Jewish manufacturer would soon rise against the latter's German colleague and in this sense the anti-Semites are aiding the Social Democrats." We know today that Hitler's anti-Semitism did all it could to win over the German workers. The old Christian-Social demands, which in reality were neither Christian nor social, were simply called socialist demands by Hitler. The working masses were told that socialism could be realized in Germany by means of persecution and suppression of the Jews. That is how Hitler won over millions of the huge army of unemployed, in addition to the major portion of the desperate German middle class. He rapidly extended the reactionary labor movement, organized before the War in the so-called "yellow" trade unions; he was able to do so because he was aided by the catastrophic economic situation. But with all this the possibility of a sudden change of the masses outlined by Bebel has grown more likely. Hitlerism is straddling two chairs and it is certain that it cannot stabilize itself in this position.

Together with Bebel many other modern fighters attacked anti-Semitism, rejecting it *in toto* and calling its proponents barbarians. I might mention the philosophers Moleschott, Vogt, Büchner, Dubois-Reymond, as well as Theodor Mommsen's marvelous, indignant fight against the historian Treitschke, who treated the Jewish problem as unhistorically as possible with his blond-bearded brain and an enormous expenditure of false Germanism. In 1880 Mommsen published a violently polemical article against Treitschke entitled *Another Word on our Jews*, in



which he states: "To what extent is the position of the German Jews among our people different from that of the Saxons or the Pomeranians? It is true that they are not the descendants of Istaevus nor of Arminius or Ingaevus, and a common descent from Father Noah is possibly insufficient when the Germanic ancestor test makes a German. None the less, very much more than the Children of Israel will have to be subtracted from the German nation if its present stock is to be corrected in accordance with Tacitus' *Germania*. The descendants of the French colony in Germany are scarcely native Frenchmen, and their Jewish fellow-citizens are likewise nothing but Germans." After Mommsen disproved Treitschke's contention that a mass migration of Jews had taken place over Germany's eastern borders, he continues: "The history of the house of Rothschild is of greater importance to the history of the world than the domestic history of the State of Saxony, and isn't it immaterial that this is the history of a German Jew?" Polemizing against Treitschke Mommsen asks: "What does it mean when he demands that our Israelite fellow-citizens become Germans? They are Germans, as good Germans as he or myself. He may be more virtuous than they are, but do virtues make a German?"

Now if virtues make a German, no civilized person would consider Messrs. Goebbels and Goering Germans, altogether apart from the fact that it is extremely doubtful whether the dark-haired Goebbels has a single drop of the blood of Istaevus, Arminius or Ingaevus in his veins. Imagine yourself back in his paradise, the primeval German forest, and conceive of him in a bearskin and armed with a club. The genuine Teutons would probably take him to be a black-haired trader from the Mediterranean coast. If Mommsen were alive today, he would merely have to repeat against Hitler what he wrote against Treitschke. True enough, he could not do it within Germany, but would have to flee to Paris, Prague, Amsterdam or New York to speak his mind. When we read the Hitlerite hymns to the Aryan and then his theses against the Jews, we find all the racial nonsense stammered by the anti-Semites in Bismarck's time. We find all the hatred against the spirit, all the contempt for the intellect, all the babble of the common sense monopolized by the anti-



Semites. We find the same sinister method of working with black and white, of constructing antagonisms that cannot be proved and, when everything else fails, dragging in the so-called "Elders of Zion" as witnesses. By no means do I feel personally attacked by the following quotation, although Herr Rosenberg, Hitler's expert for foreign affairs, claims that I am one of these "Elders of Zion":

"The extent to which the very existence of this people is based upon a continual lie is demonstrated incomparably in the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion', so infinitely hated by the Jews. They claim that these Protocols are a forgery, which is the best proof that they are genuine. What many Jews may do unconsciously is laid down here deliberately. That is the point at issue. It is immaterial out of what Jewish head these revelations came. What does matter is that they disclose the nature and the activity of the Jewish people with really appalling certainty, showing them in their inner connections as well as their final goals \* \* \* Only after this book has become the common property of a people can the Jewish menace be considered smashed."

Here we have their methods, this monstrous, demagogic brazenness, in their claim that a forgery is genuine because its genuineness is disputed. It is obvious that persons who do violence to logic in such a brutal manner are filled with hatred of the intellect, the simplest tools of which they do not possess. They are full of hatred against intelligence in speech or writing, because they themselves have no command of the language in which they commit their crimes against logic. The school and university population must have been wholly poisoned to be enthusiastic in the face of such outrages upon culture.

This outspoken brutality, which at least indicates whom and what it intends to destroy, is better, nevertheless, than the "if and but," the "more or less," this pusillanimous refusal to abandon "humanitarianism," this belly-crawling before "culture," while the others already grasp for the rope and the axe, while the others have not the slightest interest in this culture and are ready to participate in any hodge-podge of goosestep and mysticism, as

soon as it becomes the dominant doctrine. The Sombarts of economics, philosophy and literature left the door open to civilization until Herr Hitler slammed it. They did not raise a finger to break down this closed door; they felt quite at home in the anti-Semitic chorus of unanimity.

Franz Schauwecker, litterateur through blood, fate, and heroism, *i.e.* through all the nebulous elements of Nazi ideology, exclaims: "There is a monstrous accusation abroad in Germany, as follows: the Jew is to blame for everything. This expresses an unbelievable indolence. The battle is not nearly as easy as all that: it is much more difficult than we think." Schauwecker approves only the so-called Messianic Jew. He rejects me, for example; in me, Alfons Goldschmidt, there are united all the elements of the restive Jew, *i.e.* the aimless, corrosive Jew, corrupted by an inward chasm. What can one do with all that? The anti-Semites say: "My Jew, the Jew that I know, is a good Jew. But *the Jews* represent unrest, corrosion, the schism, and hence they beat up the Jews and not the individual Jew. It then comes to pass that the Jew comes among the *Jews* and is murdered as well, as was the fate of Professor Lessing. Sombart, who divides humanity into tradesmen and heroes, with the Germans on the heroic side of course, wants the upright Jew and praises him. But the question now arises: Who is an upright Jew and who is not? And before this question could be settled upright and unprincipled Jews alike were steamrollered by the Hitler Juggernaut, with the upright Jews the first to fall. All this outcry of the mystic litterateurs, vulgar ethnologists, slimy economists and scientifically veneered demagogues is repulsive and impotent beyond description. All the literature of this sort is permeated with the same vacillating babble, which the anti-Semites have time and again turned to their advantage. When these tolerant writers (with the back door left open) appeared in the role of economists, they disposed of the Jewish problem in really no other manner than did the monk Capistrano or the court chaplain Stöcker. They merely made some concessions in the "spiritual" field. They were ready to tolerate the "noble Jew," but otherwise they supported the interest usury theory, just like the darkest Middle Ages or like the young Bismarck.

The core of the problem lies in quite another direction, in the fact that there have been and are but few truly universal minds in Germany, and that those who possessed such qualities had no influence in reality. As everywhere else, science ranged itself alongside the ruling powers, and since these powers required anti-Semitism as a sort of social safety-valve, the latter was given a "scientific" foundation, with the customary reservations. It is true that there is not a trace of scientific method in this argumentation. Examine, for instance, what Gustav Schmoller, that most tiresome compiler of unproved German "economic facts," says about the Jews. It all has the same long beard with which Schmoller sat enthroned in the professorial chair in the University of Berlin, and which concealed the indecision of this professorial Ingaevus with as much dignity as it symbolized his tediousness.

For in the end the quotation from Goethe that Alfred Rosenberg chose as the motto for his book *Die Spur der Juden im Wandel der Zeiten*: "The Jew will not spare us." It goes without saying that the Jew will not spare the world, in so far as he is here and must express himself in this world like everyone else. But when the anti-Semite Rosenberg, who is much more powerful in Germany than the semitophile or anti-Semite Goethe ever was, points to the Jews with this distorted quotation, it can only mean—"Kill the Jews! And if they could not have gotten such quotations, the summons to murder would have been founded on some other argument. What is the race theory for? With its aid one can make the admirers of that nonsense believe even the insane statement that only the German Aryan can speak articulately, whereas all other peoples stammer.

#### CHIANG-KAI-SHEK OF BRAUNAU

IT SHOULD not be supposed that the anti-Semite considers that virtues make the Jew, even when he concedes them. What good fortune to have the Jew at hand, when one no longer knows how to fill the hungry mouths or to pay the staggering debt. This is the only way to understand the whole Jew ideology of anti-Semitism, after its outer adornments have been torn away. No matter whether it assumes an ethical, racial theory, religious,

economic or some other mantle, this is the core of the matter. And if the Jews of a country are in the process of true assimilation and dissolution of their old caste status as a result of social development, it is high time to call them back. The game might be lost to sight; it might disappear in the general thicket of society, and time might be lost while a substitute is found. For it is dangerous to divert the masses' own distress against the socialists and communists, because this class of people comprise the majority and not the minority of humanity, like the Jews, against whom the majority must be incited to divert it from its own path. We shall not pour ridicule upon the rubbish presented as a program by Hitler's John Law, the engineer Gottfried Feder, whose economic theories display no engineering talent for accurate construction, a trumpeter of rehashed nonsense for the German middle class. This is not to be ridiculed, for we must reckon with the acceptance of such stupidities by millions of people. In his book *The Program of the National Socialist German Labor Party*, Feder comments as follows on the demand that the Jews must be expelled from all the responsible positions in public life:

“Anyone who sees in the Jew only a ‘German citizen of the Jewish faith’ and not a foreign, rigidly secluded people with pronounced parasitic characteristics cannot understand the indispensability of this demand. The man who calls a cabbage that happens to grow in a strawberry bed a strawberry bush, or who believes that he can get strawberries from it by speaking kindly to it, is mistaken, just as the man makes a mistake who believes that a lion cub thrown among a flock of sheep will grow up as a sheep. It will be easily understood that a German can scarcely become a resident commissioner or magistrate in India or China, any more than we would like to have a Chinese or Hottentot set up over us as a tax collector or mayor.

“Nevertheless it would be better that an Enver Pasha, or a Chiang-Kai-Shek established order in Germany, rather than that a Jew give his destructive characteristics free rein in Germany. It is certain that with the revolution all the bonds of governmental order have been loosened and the old estab-



lished Jewish big banker, as well as the newer immigrant, the Eastern Jew, have enriched themselves immeasurably through Germany's misery. We all experienced this; everyone could see it with his own eyes and all had to suffer under it."

Of course, Herr Feder picks out of the thirty or forty volumes of Goethe's collected works quotations on the Jews, for a reference to the despised litterateurs is indispensable in "the country of thinkers and poets." Moreover, the Nazis are far from renouncing the prospect of becoming resident commissioners, magistrates, or even higher officials in the so-called colonial countries. They have not abandoned their demand for their lost African colonies, and I scarcely believe that they want to become cotton pickers or cooks in the households of African chiefs. They have not despised jobs as cooks and waiters when they had to submerge their Germanism in so-called white host peoples. Among them there have been the noblest of the nation, who preferred to become waiters abroad rather than cell-inmates of German jails. As for the appeal to Enver Pashas or Chiang-Kai-Sheks, that is no longer necessary. The man who took over that job is much closer geographically; he resided just across the frontier, in Braunau, Austria. Thus the desire to import such establishers of order into Germany could be easily gratified. The importation of Hitler proves that the old German custom of beating the German people with foreign clubs is far from having died out. But anyone who knows German history also knows that this people is not at all inclined to show its gratitude to the point of starvation. When this people hires some one to realize its dreams of eating and drinking, the man hired must do it. What the Germans think about this is shown by the following dialogue which took place on a minor railway station near Küstrin in February, 1933, with a building worker who was an enthusiastic supporter of Hitler:

BUILDING WORKER: "Now Hitler is here; he'll show them."

I: "What will he show them and whom will he show?"

BUILDING WORKER: "Hitler will cut the salaries of Siemens, Krupp, Schacht and all those fatheads to 1000 marks a month."

I: "Do you really believe that?"

BUILDING WORKER: "Yes. Hitler will do that and I'll get my bathtub at last. For twenty years I have been putting bathtubs in these gentlemen's homes. That's over now; now we get the bathtubs."

I: "You're dreaming. Don't you know what Hitler is? He is nothing but the hired man of the same people, whose salary you believe he'll cut to 1000 marks a month."

BUILDING WORKER: "I can tell you that if Hitler doesn't bring us Socialism, we'll send him to the devil. That isn't only my opinion; that's what all my colleagues think."

The Nazi government has not fulfilled any of these workers' desires. It has only fulfilled Points Four and Five of the party's program, which provide that only those can be citizens who are "folk comrades," and that only those who are of "German blood" can be "folk comrades," irrespective of creed. Hence no Jew can be a folk comrade in a Nazi-ruled Germany. This means that the Jews are again reduced to the status of foreigners, as so many times before in German history.

The chief hatred of the Nazis is directed against the Eastern Jews. Gottfried Feder says the following about them in his commentary on the Nazi program:

"During the period of rising inflation these Galician and Polish Jews came into the German cities like vermin. They got the best apartments in spite of the extreme housing shortage, while the Germans had to dwell in holes. Then they began their dirty dealings; they bought up everything in sight: pearls, Oriental rugs, diamonds, gold, silver, platinum, war loans, old securities, thousand mark notes, copper, lead, literature, the theatres, etc. Soon they were obviously rich and hence were acknowledged as Germans by the ordinary German."

There are no records of rich Jews, whether German or Eastern Jews, having been treated with such mass contempt in Germany as has been the lot of the poor Eastern Jews in Berlin. The Nazis did not throw pearls, Oriental rugs, diamonds, gold, and platinum out into the streets, but the few chickens, bits of meat, eggs, and oranges in which these poor Jews dealt. Hence when we said above that the Nazis carried out their Jewish program, whereas they let the rest of their rich menu of promises remain a menu, without serving the fulfilment, this does not apply to the sentences quoted from Dr. Feder. A noticeable distinction was made in this regard, and this distinction is characteristic of the Jewish policy of the Nazis as well as of all active anti-Semitism in Germany, whenever it resorted to active measures. The poor Jews were always hit the hardest, and although promissory notes were burnt and the property of well-to-do Jews was destroyed, those who possessed little or nothing always suffered the most. For that is the method and purpose of this policy: not to give the starving masses anything, but instead to incite them against minorities, whose hunger is not much less intense than that of the unemployed.

### ALL HAVE FELT THE HATRED

GERMAN Jews have often told me that they had never in their lives experienced anti-Semitism on the part of Germans. If these Jews had only ransacked their memories a bit more carefully they would doubtless have found the influence of the anti-Semitic atmosphere in Germany, if not direct anti-Semitic attacks. The Jew felt this atmosphere everywhere, wherever the Jew in him was noticed or suspected. Some felt repugnance, pressure and scorn more than others, depending upon their social status. Of course, so-called "Aryans," who came to the director-generals of the Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft, of the Deutsche Bank, or of the Berliner Handelsgesellschaft made every effort not to let any anti-Semitism at all radiate from their persons. This was understandable, for these Jews had great opportunities for profit to offer. This applied to all the Jews who rose to influential positions as a result of the so-called emancipation of the Jews in

Germany. The Prussian nobility was often found in the homes of rich Jews, and many Junker families had no objections to "shame of blood," that is marriage with Jews or Jewesses, if they only brought money with them into the family. Nor did eminent Jewish artists and scientists meet with direct rebuffs. "Aryans" came to them, studied with them, wrote about them, praised them in public. Strong social positions always attract enemies. But this effected no change in the general anti-Semitic atmosphere. Only among the German workers was this atmosphere non-existent—or at least it existed only in sections of the working class. Their training and traditions, their social status, made them averse to a movement which they knew or felt was aimed in reality at them.

I myself seldom experienced brutal anti-Semitic attacks, but none the less I felt that anti-Semitic atmosphere ever since my childhood. In gymnasium many of my teachers could not refrain from pinpricks regarding my Jewish origin and the Jewish ritual. My holidays were holidays of an inferior order; schoolmates sang sneering anti-Semitic songs, and my efforts to overcome these taunting hostilities by friendship and assimilation failed. A residue of aversion, a certain indulgence, always persisted even in the most tolerant of my young German associates, and this attitude was often nourished by the Jews themselves in the form of self-mockery. Humorous magazines and vaudeville shows were instruments of this self-mockery, the ironic goodheartedness of which was *de facto* full of anti-Semitic poison.

At the university anti-Semitism was manifested in the closing of student organizations to Jews. They were not allowed to join the so-called *Deutsche Burschenschaft* nor the feudal clubs, the corps. Jewish students sought refuge in organizations of their own; they also founded "mixed" student societies, which were despised by the Teutonic organizations, however. A major anti-Semitic problem in student life was whether the "Aryan" student should give the Jew satisfaction with arms or not. Numerous Jewish students foolishly shed their blood for this "right"; they fought duel after duel but still they failed to achieve assimilation. Nor could they succeed, for few German university professors



openly opposed student anti-Semitism. On the contrary, university professors of reputation, such as Schmoller, the economist of the University of Berlin mentioned above, wrote against the Jews in their texts. It is obvious that the German youths adopted these attitudes as their own. Although there was no active, clubbing anti-Semitism in German universities, the atmosphere was full of anti-Semitic poison none the less.

This was manifested in the filling of important professorial chairs, particularly in the medical faculties. It was extremely difficult, and often impossible, for Jewish medical men, no matter how eminent in medicine, to obtain full professorships. Characteristic instances of their rejection by the medical faculties were legion. Jewish physicians of world-wide reputation did not advance beyond instructorships or had to be content with hospital appointments. If a Jewish instructor dared to criticize the official ideologies of Christian Germany, he was through. The Social Democratic professor Arons was expelled from the University of Berlin. In fact, a special law, the so-called "Lex Arons," was passed to cover just such cases. Moreover, the official ideology was more or less binding upon all faculty members of German universities, and the Jewish instructor had to be twice as cautious as the rest. Scientific freedom was non-existent. Great discoveries in the field of medicine were fought twice and three times and bitterly when made by Jews.

The Prussian Army was a breeding-ground of anti-Semitism. During my military service officers and sergeants bandied anti-Semitic remarks about day after day, with German-Polish Jews the special butt of their attentions. At the front the Jewish religion was ridiculed in boundless joking. Thus the Jewish soldier remained a "foreign body" within the army, just as the Jew was in the German society itself. Whenever a Jewish soldier proved to be particularly fitted for military work, they would say, "The Jew so-and-so is a smart guy." That meant that he was a smart guy, although he was a Jew. Many Jews were proud of such distinctions, which in reality were merely another expression of anti-Semitism. I experienced this sort of anti-Semitism even during the World War. In cases of heroism, it was a sort of

laudatory anti-Semitism, which raised an individual Jew above the Jewish mass. If a Jew were occupied for any period of time with military work behind the lines, he was almost certain to be denounced to the authorities. Then it was said that "The Jew is a slacker," or "The Jew bribed his superior officers." Anti-Semitism appeared in a hundred variations under all sorts of circumstances. It adapted itself to the current political situation, but it never dropped below the level of a tolerating anti-Semitism.

### WHITHER ISRAEL?

THE history of the Jews is nothing but the story of their logical economical, social and religious development. This is no surprise for the economic historian. He does not think for a moment of denying the activity of the Jews along their path through the world, nor does he think of marking that up against them as a moral minus. In Palestine they became what they had to become under the prevailing conditions of the time. They could not remain a purely agricultural people because the location of their country and their own needs made that impossible. They could not remain a nation because exile and the Roman Empire broke up their national community. If they were to go on living in the Diaspora at all, they had to develop their abilities and evolve their own protection in a hostile world. They also became peasants and artisans wherever they could become peasants and artisans. Their commercial function is explained by the history of Palestine and by their surrounding environment in their wanderings and settlements throughout the world. Their religious self-protection, the importance of ritual and the Bible for their social status, is the natural consequence of the instinct of self-preservation that dwells in every man. The fight of the Christian Church against them is closely connected with all this and (as far as the religious content of the Church is concerned) goes back to the time of the Roman Empire, when the organic opposition of a new church to the old tribe was manifested much more clearly than later on.

But despite their religious armor, despite a caste-like seclusion, the Jews had to undergo and usually suffer the ups and downs of the world, of course, in which they were forced to live. The emancipation so-called did not rescue them from this necessity. On the contrary, now that they had the opportunity of penetrating still deeper into the pores of the economic system, they were seized all the more violently by the diseases of a country's economy, and later of world economy.

Nor were they spared the process of proletarianization. Their so-called economic independence, which was enjoyed by 48.3 per cent of gainfully employed Prussian Jews according to the 1925 Prussian Census of Occupations, had become a very distressing independence indeed for a very large proportion of them. Often it consisted of merely a telephone and a notebook in which fewer and fewer business orders were recorded. On the other hand, the percentage of Jews in the army of clerical employees and workers increased very rapidly after the War. Ever since the end of the War the German Jews were much more on the defensive socially than ever before. The displacement of the Jews from the most important social positions could be clearly observed. If capitalism is a Jewish invention, as the Hitlerites claim, the inventors made very poor use of their creation. The comprehensive story of the development of the German Jews, and of the Jews in the other countries shaken by the economic crisis, is that of a rapid downward movement during the past fifteen years. Or can anyone maintain that the millions of Polish Jews have been able to avoid the effects of the crisis weighing down on all Poland? We know there is no misery to equal that of these millions of Polish Jews, who often do not know for weeks and months at a time where they are to get a bit of bread for their whimpering children.

The phrase of the Jewish domination of the world is a ridiculous lie. Where could it have come from? The Jews have no powerful state to back them up; they have no armies; they are dispersed all over the world; they possess neither a folk bond nor a common language; they are divided into classes; they fight against each other. Where should they get the strength, the methodicalness, and resoluteness to become rulers of even one

country, much less the world? The key positions in economic life are not in their hands; they only possess minor percentages, which grow smaller from day to day, of the world's riches, of its thousands of billions in wealth.

There is no doubt that the German Jews were in process of true assimilation during the past few decades. But we have already stated that this very factor caused German anti-Semitism to attack them with redoubled vigor. It seemed as if the anti-Semites feared the fusion of the Jews with the German people. In fact, the German Jews were not a national minority within the German nation; they had remained a minority only numerically. It was the Nazis who made them a national minority in order to facilitate their oppression. They themselves wanted the Jewish minority, which they later denied in Geneva. German nationalism has always made use of minorities to act as its scapegoat and to confuse the German masses. We may call to mind the fight against the Poles in Prussia. Yet Polish workers were hired on the estates of the East Elbian Junkers, because their wages were lower. To that extent the Prussian regime could use the Poles. And today the German Jews are placed under exceptional legislation to make them usable servants, aside from the hypocritical brutality that is found in the shabby misuse of the so-called race theory.

But what the German Fascists are doing to the Jews in Germany is not without danger to the Fascists themselves. In whipping up nationalism in other countries with their theories and practices they may find this nationalism turning against their own countrymen abroad. For who can assure them that the social convulsions outside Germany will rage against the Jews alone and not against other national minorities as well? Is it not conceivable that the millions of Germans abroad might have to suffer as much under such madness as the German Jews have had to endure under the madness of the German Fascists? The hatred of foreigners, which the Nazis have raised to the status of a program, might turn against their German adherents abroad with an increase in National Socialist activity, coupled with a growing economic and social crisis. Through their costly propaganda, which makes the profit margin of German business even



narrower than it is already, with their raging agitation, poisoning and incitement of foreign countries against their Jews, the Nazis are generating the most serious menace the Germans outside of Germany have ever had to face. Many Germans abroad, who have not permitted themselves to be infected with the Nazi plague, are full of apprehension over such a trend of affairs. This foreign propaganda is beyond all doubt the greatest of the Nazi government's daily blunders in foreign policy. It represents such shortsightedness as to make one realize the Nazis' complete lack of statesmanlike talent.

This lack of statesmanlike ability is also recognized in their concealment of the true status of the Jews in Germany—which is not really hidden from foreign observers. The Nazi government must know that people have heard of the distress of thousands of Jewish families in the smaller cities and in the villages, and that we cannot be fooled by tolerant speeches or modifying decrees. We know the destruction of Jewish life, property and the very means of existence in Germany, and we also know that this process is still going on. For this annihilation is one of the cornerstones of the Nazi program. We know that the heads of Hitlerism assume the role of lambs in the face of foreign counter-measures, after they themselves had preached the most extreme brutality against the Jews. And we also know that their subordinate officials do not act in accordance with these lamb-like speeches, and that they demand license for their persecution whenever it is not conceded openly or with one eye closed. All that is known to us, just as we have not forgotten our own Jewish friends who have been murdered, beaten or imprisoned under most unspeakable conditions. Not for a moment do we forget it. We know their lives and their ideals; we know what they fought for and that they were killed or flogged for an idealism which their oppressors certainly do not possess. None will be forgotten, none of the many thousands. Each name is recorded; it continues to shine; it is not lost to memory; it burns in the hearts of families. And though we should have liked the German Jews to have displayed more activity in the fight both before and after the Nazis came to power, although we were indignant at so much passivity, lack of courage and resignation, we do not consider

ourselves justified in weakening the struggle against the persecutors even for an instant by saying that those persecuted did not deserve our efforts. That would mean allowing hundreds of thousands to be killed, jailed, and degraded to humans of the second and third class, just for a hare-brained idea, just because the attackers do not know how they can fulfil their absurd social promises. We should be denying our entire past, our fight for the real rights of man, our convictions and indignation, our hatred and our love, if we did not do all in our power to put an end to this disgrace. Let the preachers of resignation resign themselves—that is their affair. But when they endeavor to dissuade us from this struggle through their emissaries from Germany, through letters, through pointing out the dangers to the persecuted involved in our fight, they will merely redouble our eagerness to do battle. Nor do we agree in the least with the summons to the Jews of other countries to retreat before the rise of anti-Semitism, to be humble and to creep into their mouse-holes. This has been said already, but in view of the hesitant, the timorous, and the eternally insipid, we must insist on our right to fulfil our qualities time and again.

Why do you acknowledge democracy, when by your own resignation you are ready to render illusory the rights it gives you? You are what you are and you must exhibit that to all the world, as a matter of course. For how else do you intend to defend your principle that all men are born equal, and that hence all men have equal rights? Your fear is no weapon and a Jewish minister is no worse than an "Aryan." Resignation has not helped you at all. Nor will it help you in the future. You will be trampled down, because you are resigned. For in this period of bestiality men overrun those who cannot defend and protect themselves.

The Jews have no special rights in this world, but they have equal rights with all others. This should be as much a matter of course as eating and drinking. And from the principle of equal rights with all others there follows the equal duty of standing together with those who demand this right.

Whither, Israel? Are you going forward or are you giving way? Are you not turning away from your true friends, from all those who are opposing the growth of reaction throughout

the world? Are you not withdrawing into yourself, weak, inwardly torn asunder, relying on a coherence which does not exist? Are you not relying upon material aid alone? And even this aid is rendered very inadequately. Your boycott against Jewish persecutions has remained almost ineffective up to the present time. You have not succeeded in establishing an effective Jewish solidarity throughout the world against your enemies. The enemies that you have had for thousands of years and who grow ever more numerous will not abandon their enmity no matter how loudly you may cry. You can impress them only with the same force that they employ against you. Wherever the Jews may be brought, unless to a place where hatred of the Jews can no longer arise, they will have only a pause for settlement, only a brief period of rest in their Ahasuerian wandering. For the economic crisis, the major factor in anti-Jewish agitation, will grow in intensity, and since the vested interests have no desire to relinquish their interests, nor the ability to eliminate the general distress, you will be hunted as long as there is distress in the world.

Who is interested in your case? Your economic competitors? You do not believe that yourselves. The non-Jewish shopkeeper next door hates you, not because you are Jews, but because you also want to make a living. He will do nothing for you. The German example proves that very clearly. Or do you Jewish intellectuals: physicians, lawyers, architects, engineers, professors, writers and artists, really believe that with this situation of horrible unemployment the others would not be happy to get your jobs? Study the German case. You read every day of the discharging, expulsion, imprisonment, in short the destruction of the Jewish intelligentsia. No one is horrified, nobody is driven to active opposition against such cruel brutalities, with the exception of a comparatively small group of intellectual friends of culture. Hitler depended upon this simple fact. He made no mistake, and he knows why he raised Jewish persecution to the status of a law in Germany by means of the so-called "Aryan paragraph." He counts upon this simple fact, not only in Germany but in the whole world torn asunder by the crisis. You read and

hear that anti-Semitism is making progress even in such countries as Mexico, where there are only a few Jews. It exaggerates the "Jewish peril" in these countries; it exploits the misery of the rural population by inciting them against the cities, identifying the latter's diseased economic system with Jewish speculation, so-called.

. Whither, Israel? If you call the other Jews brothers, then give them, not a beggar's share of your income and your wealth, but half and more than half. And even that is not enough. Be careful not to lose your friends. Millions upon millions are fighting, like you, against the race craze, because they realize or feel that this madness is one type and one part of the barbaric fight against them. Give of your resources to them, the persecuted non-Jews, the exiled, those cast out into misery, those fighting at the risk of their lives for their right to live, thus aiding their struggle, by demonstrating that you want not merely your own civil equality, but the human well-being of all.

Do not draw back from your fellow-fighters, go with them, active and courageous. Humanity's road always lay towards the future. The obstacles along this road were always erected by those who wished to summon back the past because of greed, vested interest, and ignominious confusion. But they are not your protectors. You must make sacrifices if you want to live, and it does not matter how you live, if only you can live in peace and harmony. There lies your road, Israel, and be ready to leave behind you those of the world's Jews who do not want to go with you. They are not a loss. They retard you and they prevent you from being what you have wanted to be for thousands of years: a free people among the peoples of the earth.



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